

## Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-05 L-02 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8786

SECDEF PRIORITY

INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 4666

CINCLANT

CINCUSAFE

CINCUSAREUR

USCINCEUR

USLOSACLANT

USNMR SHAPE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 NATO 6351

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (SECTION INFORMATION)

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: MPOL, NATO

SUBJECT: KEY ELEMENTS OF MINISTERIAL GUIDANCE: RESOURCES -

DRC MEETING NOVEMBER 13

REF: A. USNATO 6245

B. USNATO 6010

C. USNATO 6089

D. USNATO 5940

E. USNATO 4527

F. STATE 211681

BEGIN SUMMARY: DURING NOVEMBER 13 MEETING, DRC REPS RAND-  
ONLY CRITICIZED IS DRAFT REPORT ON RESOURCE GUIDANCE  
(REF A) AND AGREED TO PROVIDE MINISTERS WITH REVISED REPORT  
ON RESOURCES KEY ELEMENT WHICH BRIEFLY DESCRIBES MAJOR  
FACTORS MINISTERS SHOULD CONSIDER WHEN FORMULATING RESOURCE  
GUIDANCE (DEFENSE BUDGET/GNP RATION, DEFENSE BUDGET PER  
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CAPITA, AND PREFERRED REAL BUDGETARY EXPENDITURES) AND

INCLUDES EXAMPLES OF ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES TO THESE FACTORS. DRC ACCEPTED US-PROPOSED CHANGES TO EXISTING ALTERNATIVES (REF A) AND ADDITIONAL RESOURCE GUIDANCE ALTERNATIVE TABLED BY NETHERLANDS. IS HOPES TO CIRCULATE NEW DRAFT IN NEXT FEW DAYS. END SUMMARY.

1. DURING INTRODUCTORY REMARKS TO NOVEMBER 13 DRC MEETING, ACTING CHAIRMAN BRABAND ASKED REPS TO REVISE IF NECESSARY AND ENDORSE LATEST IS DRAFT (REF A) AS BASIS FOR DECEMBER DPC MINISTERIAL CONSIDERATION OF KEY ELEMENT ON RESOURCES. HE SAID FIRST ALTERNATIVE IN IS DRAFT REFLECTED CURRENT MINISTERIAL RESOURCE GUIDANCE AND SECON ALTERNATIVE LISTED BASIC FACTORS COMPRISING RESOURCE ALTERNATIVES DRC REPS HAD TABLED DURING PREVIOUS MEETINGS. BRABAND SAID IS ENVISAGED MINISTERS' CHOOSING A "PREFERRED MIX" FROM THESE FACTORS DURING DECEMBER MEETING.

2. NETHERLANDS REP (CARSTEN), SUPPORTED BY DANISH REP (ROSENTHAL), SAID IS DRAFT FAILED TO SPECIFY EITHER "SEPARATE, ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS OF NATIONAL PROPOSALS" OR ACCURATELY PORTRAY THESE PROPOSALS IN TOTO. THEY SAID IS HAD IMPROPERLY MERGED AT LEAST TWO ESSENTIAL ELEMENTS IN EACH OF DRAFT FACTORS II, III, AND IV (REF A). DANISH REP SUGGESTED DRC RETURN TO EARLIER IS DRAFT (REF B,C, AND D) WHICH INCLUDED PREVIOUSLY SUBMITTED COMPOSITE NATIONAL ALTERNATIVES.

3. ITALIAN REP (ADMIRAL MACCHIAVELLI) SAID IS EXCLUDED MAJOR FACTOR FROM ITALIAN-PROPOSED ALTERNATIVE (REF B) IN CURRENT DRAFT AND SUGGESTED DRC DECIDE WHETHER IT WISHED TO PRESENT MINISTERS WITH "PACKAGE OF ALTERNATIVES FROM NATIONS OR COMPLETE LIST OF ISOLATED FACTORS." HE RAISED FURTHER QUESTION OF WHETHER MINISTERS SHOULD ULTIMATELY ENDORSE SPECIFIC GUIDANCE FOR INDIVIDUAL NATIONS OR APPROVE "SINGLE, VAGUE" ALTERNATIVE FOR ALL ALLIES.

4. FRG REP (CAPT ARENDY) SAID PREVIOUSLY SUBMITTED GERMAN ALTERNATIVE (REF C) WAS "INSEPARABLE ENTITY" AND RECOMMENDED THAT DRC NOT REPEAT NOT DISTILL IT INTO SEPARATE FACTORS SUCH AS THOSE IN CURRENT IS DRAFT.

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5. NETHERLANDS REP SAID DRC SHOULD NOT REPEAT NO PROVIDE MINISTERS WITH DISTILLED ELEMENTS, BUT SHOULD GIVE MINISTERS BRIEF COMMENTARIES ON THREE MAJOR APPROACHES TO NATIONAL DEFENSE SPENDING LEVELS (DEFENSE BUDGETS AS A PERCENTAGE OF GNP, PREFERRED REAL TERM INCREASES FOR DEFENSE BUDGETS, AND PREFERRED PER CAPITA SPENDING LEVELS FOR DEFENSE) AND ON OTHER RELATED FACTORS LIKE MANPOWER LEVELS, CAPITAL

IMPROVEMENTS, ETC. HE RECOMMENDED DRC REPORT TO MINISTERS INCLUDE, FOR EXAMPLE PURPOSES ONLY, EXISTING NATIONAL ALTERNATIVES. ITALIAN REP GENERALLY SUPPORTED NETHERLANDS' PROPOSAL, BUT SAID DRC NEED NOT REPEAT NOT INCLUDE NATIONAL ALTERNATIVES AS EXAMPLES BECAUSE STAFFS IN ALLIED CAPITALS ALREADY HAD THEM AVAILABLE. NORWEGIAN REP (LEINE) SAID DRC SHOULD INCLUDE SUCH EXAMPLES.

6. US REP (LEGERE) SAID MAJOR PURPOSE FOR DRC CONSIDERATION OF RESOURCES WAS TO PRESENT MINISTERS WITH GUIDANCE ALTERNATIVES WHICH BOTH REFLECTED FLAVOR OF DRC DISCUSSIONS AND DID NOT "PAPER OVER " DIVERGENT NATIONAL APPROACHES. HE SAID DRC HAD LARGELY COMPLETED THIS TASK ON RESOURCES KEY ELEMENT, AND THAT US WOULD NOT OBJECT TO DRC PRESENTING MINISTERS WITH EITHER A LIST OF ACTUAL ALTERNATIVES PROPOSED BY NATIONS OR A SUMMARY LIST OF ESSENTIAL FACTORS COMPRISING NATIONAL APPROACHES. US REP ADDED THAT IF HE WERE A MINISTER, HE WOULD PREFER ACTUAL ALTERNATIVE PACKAGES RATHER THAN "DISEMBODIED ELEMENTS." CANADIAN REP (COL SHEFFIELD) AGREED.

7. ACTING CHAIRMAN BRABAND SAID DRC CONSENSUS CALLED FOR NEW IS DRAFT ON RESOURCE KEY ELEMENT WHICH WOULD:

- A) DESCRIBE PURPOSE OF RESOURCE GUIDANCE IN ONE SENTENCE,
- B) QUOTE EXISTING RESOURCE GUIDANCE,
- C) INDICATE THAT EXISTING GUIDANCE IS TOO VAGUE,
- D) CITE MAJOR ELEMENTS MINISTERS SHOULD ADDRESS IN PREPARING NEW GUIDANCE (GNP, REAL DEFENSE SPENDING LEVELS, PER CAPITA DEFENSE EXPENDITURES)

NOTE BY OC/T: SS AND NSC TAKE AS ORIGINAL.

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8787  
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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 4667  
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E) PRESENT EXISTING IS DRAFT FACTORS II, III AND IV  
(REFA) AS EXAMPLES FOR CONSTRUCTING RESOURCE GUIDANCE.  
RESPONDING TO QUESTION FROM US REP, BRABAND SAID IS WOULD  
INCLUDE CURRENT DRAFT FACTORS I (MANPOWER) AND V (MAJOR  
EQUIPMENT AND AMMUNITION) IN INTRODUCTORY TEXT TO KEY  
ELEMENT PAPER ON RESOURCES.

8. US REP PROPOSED CHANGES (REF A) TO IS DRAFT FACTORS  
II AND V. SHAPE (COL HOOTEN, US) AND BELGIAN REPS SAID  
THEY PREFERRED THAT RESOURCE GUIDANCE REMAIN AT 3 TO 5 PERCENT  
ANNUAL REAL INCREASES IN NATIONAL DEFENSE SPENDING.  
BELGIAN REP FEARED HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD INTERPRET 3 PERCENT  
FACTOR AS EXCUSE FOR REDUCING CURRENTLY PLANNED 4PERCENT  
REAL INCREASES. UK REP (MACDONALD) SAID UK COULD ACCEPT  
US-PROPOSED LANGUAGE "MAJOR EQUIPMENT AND AMMUNITION" IF  
THIS INCLUDED SPENDING FOR RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT.

9. NETHERLANDS REP TABLED FOLLOWING RESOURCE GUIDANCE  
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ALTERNATIVE AND ASKED DRC TO INCLUDE IT WITH EXISTING  
EXAMPLES IN REPORT TO MINISTERS: BEGIN QUOTE: THE  
COUNTRIES WILL INCREASE THEIR DEFENSE EXPENDITURES IN  
REAL TERMS AT LEAST COMPARABLE TO THOSE IN THE PAST.  
END QUOTE. HE SAID DUTCH PROPOSED THIS ALTERNATIVE TO  
COVER THOSE NATIONS, SUCH AS HOLLAND, WHO COULD NOT  
ACHIEVE US-PREFERRED 3 PERCENT INCREASE. US REP ASKED  
IF US PROPOSAL TO ALLOW VARIATIONS FROM 3 PERCENT INCREASE  
AFTER NATIONAL CONSULTATION WITH DPC WOULD SOLVE PROBLEM  
MORE EFFECTIVELY. NETHERLANDS REP SAID, ON PERSONAL  
BASIS, THAT IT SHOULD; HE AGREED TO ASK HAGUE. CANADIAN  
REP SAID HE PREFERRED US ALTERNATIVE OF 3 PERCENT REAL  
INCREASE TO DUTCH ALTERNATIVE. FRG REP ASKED HOW DUTCH  
PROPOSAL WOULD AFFECT COUNTRIES WHO HAVE NOT INCREASED  
DEFENSE BUDGETS IN PAST FEW YEARS. NETHERLANDS REP  
SAID HE COULD NOT ANSWER THAT QUESTION AND HOPED THAT  
HIS DEFENSE MINISTER COULD PROVIDE ANSWERS IN DECEMBER.  
ACTING CHAIRMAN BRABAND SAID IS WOULD ATTEMPT TO INCLUDE  
US-PROPOSED REVISIONS, NEW DUTCH ALTERNATIVE AND ITALIAN

ALTERNATIVE (REF B) IN REVISED DRAFT REPORT TO MINISTERS.

10. ACTING CHAIRMAN BRABAND NOTED ALL NATIONAL ECONOMIC COMMITTEE (EC) REPS, EXCEPT US, HAD APPROVED IS DRAFT FOR PARAS 34-36, DRC/WP(74)4, (REF E) AND ASKED IF DRC WANTED TO INCLUDE THESE PARAGRAPHS IN REPORT TO MINISTERS. DANISH AND UK REPS SUPPORTED INCLUSION. ECONOMIC DIRECTORATE REP (VARLEY) SAID EC HAD RECEIVED SUBSTANTIAL "POSIBIE CRITICISMS" FROM US ON ECONOMIC APPRECIATION AND HOPSE EC WOULD RESOLVE PROBLEMS DURING NOVEMBER 14 MEETING. MISSION COMMENT: DURING NOVEMBER 14 MEETING EC ENDORSED (WITH US REP RESERVING) TEXT QUOTED BELOW. MISSION BELIEVES REVISED TEXT, WHILE PERHAPS NOT IDEAL, IS PROBABLY MORE ACCEPTABLE THAN TEXT IS MIGHT PRODUCE ON ITS OWN RESPONSIBILITY OR ORAL REMARKS WHICH SYG LUNS MIGHT MAKE DURING DPC MINISTERIAL. WE THEREFORE RECOMMEND WASHINGTON AUTHORIZE MISSION TO LIFT US RESERVATION AND THUS SUPPORT INCLUSION OF REVISED DRAFT IN INTRODUCTORY SECTION OF DRC REPORT TO MINISTERS ON RESOURCES KEY ELEMENTS. ACTION REQUESTED: WASHINGTON VIEWS BY NOVEMBER 18. END MISSION COMMENT.

11. REVISED TEXT FOLLOWS: BEGIN TEXT:  
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34. THE YEAR 1973 WAS A TURNING POINT FOR THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MEMBER COUNTRIES. UP TO THAT YEAR IT SEEMED THAT THE GROWTH PERFORMANCE OF THE 1960S MIGHT BE REPEATED IN THE 1970S AND THAT THE STRENGTH OF THE ECONOMIES OF NATO COUNTRIES COULD THUS BE INCREASED SUBSTANTIALLY OVER THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW. THE STRONG INFLATIONARY DEVELOPMENT FROM 1972-73 AND THE FORESEEABLE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS PROBLEMS OF NATO COUNTRIES CREATED BY THE STEEPLY RISING RAW MATERIAL PRICES ESPECIALLY IN THE FIELD OF ENERGY DURING THE LAST QUARTER OF 1973 HAVE COMPLETELY ALTERED THE ECONOMIC OUTLOOK FOR THE 1970S. THESE FACTORS TEND TO INCREASE THE POLITICAL AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES THE POSSIBILITY OF RECESSION TAKING A GRIP CANNOT BE RULED OUT AND DECISIONS TAKEN BY ANY COUNTRY COULD HAVE CONSIDERABLE REPERCUSSIONS ON THE OTHERS.

35. EVEN SUPPOSING THAT NATO GOVERNMENTS CAN COPE WITH THE MANY DIFFICULT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS MENTIONED ABOVE, IN THE PRESENT FAR FROM CLEAR SITUATION, THE OUTLOOK POINTS TO REDUCED GROWTH RATES WITH INFLATION ONLY SLOWLY BEING BROUGHT UNDER CONTROL. UNDER THE BEST CONDITIONS IT WILL TAKE TIME FOR CORRECTIVE MEASURES TO TAKE EFFECT AND THEREFORE OVER THE PERIOD TO 1978 AVERAGE GROWTH RATES OF THE ORDER OF 2 PCT TO 3 PCT PER ANNUM APPEAR A REASONABLE PLANNING ASSUMPTION. GROWTH RATES MAY DIFFER FROM COUNTRY TO COUNTRY DEPENDING ON DEVELOPMENTS RELATING TO INFLATIONS, ENERGY SUPPLIES,

THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, THE LEVEL OF EMPLOYMENT AND THE  
CORRECTIVE POLICIES APPLIED. IF THESE POLICIES ARE SUCCESSFUL  
A GRADUAL IMPROVEMENT IN THE ANNUAL RATE OF GROWTH TO  
3.5 PCT TO 4.5 PCT COULD BE EXPECTED AFTER 1978.

36. THE EVENTS THAT HAVE HIT NATO COUNTRIES ARE LIKELY TO

HAVE AN OVERALL POSITIVE EFFECT ON THE SOVIET UNION SO FAR  
AS IT CAN TAKE ADVANTAGE OF HIGHER RAW MATERIAL PRICES  
IN EXPORT MARKETS, BUT POSSIBLY LESS FAVOURABLE OR EVEN  
ADVERSE EFFECTS ON OTHER WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES. NEVER-

THELESS, EVEN THE LATTER WILL BE  
LESS AFFECTED THAN THE ALLIED COUNTRIES. ECONOMIC GROWTH  
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COULD AVERAGE SOME 5 PCT PER YEAR IN THE SOVIET UNION AND  
INCREASE THE ECONOMIC STRENGTH OF THE WARSAW PACT COUNTRIES.  
THE CONCENTRATION ON ARMAMENTS PRODUCTIONS INT THE USSR  
AND THE VERY CONSIDERABLE R & D EFFORT MADE OVER THE LAST  
DECADE PLACE THE USSR IN A RELATIVELY VERY FAVOURABLE  
POSTION TO MAKE OPTIMAL USE OF RESOURCES FOR MILITARY PURPOSES  
OVER THE COMING YEARS. THE RATE OF INCREASE OF MILITARY  
EXPENDITURES OF THE SOVIET UNION IS EXPECTED TO ACCELERATE  
TO 3 OR 5 PCT ANNUALLY FOR THE NEXT YEAR OR TWO AS CONV-  
VENTIONAL WEAPONS ARE REPLACED OR MODERNISED AND A NEW  
GENERATION OF STRATEGIC ARMS ARE BROUGHT INTO SERVICE.  
THIS REFLECTS A CYCLICAL DEVELOPMENT THAT IS EXPECTED TO LEAVE  
THE LONGER-TERM TREND IN MILITARY SPENDING IN THE SOVIET  
UNION AT A RATE OF THE ORDER OF 3 PCT YEARLY IN REAL TERMS.

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INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS 4668  
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36(BIS). WHILE, DUE TO THE ENHANCED ECONOMIC CAPABILITY OF THE SOVIET UNION, THE MILITARY POTENTIAL OF THE WARSAW PACT IS LIKELY TO INCREASE RELATIVELY RAPIDLY OVER THE PERIOD UNDER REVIEW, THE RESOURCES AVAILABLE TO DEFENCE IN MOST NATO COUNTRIES COULD INCREASE ONLY SLOWLY. IN BOTH THE EASTERN AND WESTERN GROUP OF COUNTRIES THE IMPACT OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENTS WILL VARY CONSIDERABLY. FOR NATO MEMBER COUNTRIES IN PARTICULAR, CIRCUMSTANCES ARE LIKELY TO ARISE THAT WOULD SERIOUSLY WEAKEN SOME ECONOMIES, AT LEAST IN THE MEDIUM-TERM. FOR THE HARDEST HIT COUNTRIES IMPLEMENTATION OF THE DEFENCE EFFORT AS INDICATED IN THE 1975-1980 FORCE GOALS MIGHT BE DIFFICULT BECAUSE OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS. THIS UNDERLINES THE NECESSITY OF OBTAINING THE MAXIMUM EFFECTIVE VALUE FROM THE RESOURCES THAT COUNTRIES ALLOCATE TO DEFENCE THROUGH RATIONALISATION AND CO-OPERATION IN ARMS PROCUREMENT ON A NATO-WIDE BASIS.

36(TER). RESOURCES ALLOCATED TO DEFENCE ARE LIKELY TO  
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BE STRONGLY AFFECTED BY THREE KEY ECONOMIC FACTORS -  
LOW ECONOMIC GROWTH, INFLATION, AND SEVERE BUDGETARY  
CONSTRAINTS, AT LEAST DURING THE NEXT FEW YEARS.

- FOR THE ALLIANCE AS A WHOLE THE RATE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH,  
AT BEST, IS LIKELY TO BE CONSIDERABLY LOWER THAN DURING THE  
LAST DECADE. IN SUCH CIRCUMSTANCES A FURTHER DECLINE OF THE  
DEFENCE SHARE OF GNP WOULD IMPLY A SERIOUS WEAKENING OF THE  
DEFENCE CAPABILITY OF THE ALLIANCE.

- WITH HIGH INFLATION RATES THE OUTLOOK IS FOR A SHARP  
ESCALATION OF PERSONNEL COSTS. THE METHODS ALREADY BEING  
APPLIED IN A NUMBER OF MEMBER COUNTRIES THAT MAKE SOME FORM OF  
A SPECIAL PROVISION FOR MEETING FUTURE WAGE AND PRICE  
INCREASES HAS PROVED EFFECTIVE IN ALLEVIATING PROBLEMS  
CREATED BY INFLATION. IF SUCH MEASURES WERE ADOPTED BY ALL

MEMBER COUNTRIES THE DISRUPTIVE EFFECT OF INFLATION ON DEFENCE PLANS AT THE TIME OF THEIR IMPLEMENTATION WOULD BE GREATLY DIMINISHED.

- INFLATION CREATES SPECIAL PROBLEMS FOR MAJOR EQUIPMENT PROCUREMENT. THE OUTLOOK FOR SHARP COST INCREASES IN THIS SECTOR WILL MAKE IT ESSENTIAL FOR THE MOST EFFECTIVE USE TO BE MADE OF THE FUNDS AVAILABLE, PARTICULARLY THROUGH STANDARDIZATION AND CO-OPERATION IN PRODUCTION ON A FAR LARGER SCALE THAN ACHIEVED SO FAR.

- SEVERE BUDGETARY CONSTRAINTS ARE LIKELY TO PERSIST IN MOST COUNTRIES AS A RESULT OF THE CORRECTIVE POLICIES THAT MAY BE ADOPTED. END TEXT.

12. TURKISH REP (TOPUR), SUPPORTED BY PORTUGUESE REP (CATARINO) ASKED THAT DRC REPORT TO MINISTERS INCLUDE SUBSTANCE OF PARA 38, REF E, ON NEED BY SOME ALLIES FOR EXTERNAL ASSISTANCE. ACTING CHAIRMAN BRABAND AGREED.

13. DURING CONCLUDING REMARKS, BRABAND SAID IS WOULD CIRCULATE NEW DRAFT TEXT ON RESOURCE KEY ELEMENT WITHIN A FEW DAYS. MISSION WILL FORWARD TEXT TO WASHINGTON. PEREZ

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